

PEACE NEWS

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Germany & democracy

by JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

IT would be a great pity if pacifists, in their justified reaction from the inverted sentimentality of Vansittartism, were to shut their eyes to the truth that there really is a specific German problem, and that it is of old standing.

Karl Marx, in a remarkable early essay, declared peremptorily that Germany was incapable of democratic revolution: Germany was "beneath the level of history." The reason he gave for this stern judgment was that the German middle-class was incapable of enthusiasm for a political ideal, and incapable of political responsibility.

The hundred years that have passed since that judgment have confirmed it. The pitiful collapse of the Frankfurt Parliament in 1849—a full two centuries after the challenge of the English Parliament to the absolutism of the Stuarts—was the opening act of the drama which culminated in the surrender of the later, post-Marxian middle-class to Hitler.

★

The unification of the German Reich was achieved by Bismarck in studied and deliberate contempt for middle-class political collaboration. The actual constitution of the new Reich, whereby no member of the Bundesrat—the sovereign Federal

DOUGLAS-HOME COURT-MARTIALLED

CAPT. the Hon. Wm. Douglas-Home was court-martialled at Ghent, Belgium, on Oct. 4 for disobeying an order to act as liaison officer at Le Havre on Sept. 8.

The sentence of the court will be promulgated.

We hope to publish further details next week.

Council of the component States—could be a member of the Reichstag, was deliberately framed to show to the Reichstag (and to the world, if it cared to look) that the Reichstag was completely devoid of sovereign power.

Not till the defeat of Germany in the last war was there, for a brief period, even the formal structure of parliamentary government, and then it was significantly incomplete. Right up to the end of the war every effort to reform the extraordinarily reactionary franchise of the parliament (Landtag) of Prussia was stubbornly and successfully resisted by the Junkers.

No wonder that the Reichstag under the Weimar Republic, though endowed with part of German sovereignty—part only, for it had no control over the election of the President of the Reich and no check whatever on the exercise of his powers "in emergency"—could not exercise real authority. It did not believe in its own authority: neither did the German people.

★

Remarkable evidence of this attitude of the German middle-class is contained in a sympathetic study of the famous German sociologist Max Weber, which has just been published. Weber was the son of a National-Liberal member of the Reichstag, who turned towards the Left (as we should say) of the "Liberal" movement in Germany. At

*Max Weber. By J. P. Mayer (Faber).
(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

STALIN'S AIMS IN EUROPE

DECISIONS taken during the Moscow talks will affect profoundly the prospects of a durable peace. Not knowing the decisions, we cannot estimate their probable results. But the setting within which they have been taken is clear enough.

It is generally agreed that the Dumbarton Oaks security proposals will be unworkable unless the major Allies remain in accord after the war. If they do not, said David Raymond in Reynolds (Oct. 15), each Power will seek its own security in independent and exclusive action:

"The USA will insist . . . upon having its own bases in every part of the world . . . Russia will similarly seek to deprive all-comers of springboards in the Baltic, Balkans, Middle East, and Far East, from which war could be launched against her . . . Dominating all these issues is the fear or hatred of Russia."

But already some of those things are happening. Russia is losing no time in securing the springboards.

Commentary

She would like to do so before the new security organization comes into being—that it may uphold the new status quo. We find Izvestia declaring:

" . . . it is essential to establish a procedure in the solution of problems in the Security Council under which no decision can be taken without the consent of all its permanent members." (Manchester Guardian, Oct. 14.)

Fear of Russia

UNFORTUNATELY, the "fear or hatred of Russia" is also showing itself.

"At no time since Hitler attacked Russia has there been as much uneasiness in the United States about the Soviet Union policies as during the last few weeks—an uneasiness by no means confined to ex-isolationists and Russophobes . . ." (Sunday Times, Oct. 15.)

Foreign policy may have an important influence on the Presidential election. The Observer (Oct. 15) reports that isolationist Senators of both parties, out to defeat the Dumbarton Oaks plans, are "raising side issues calculated to stimulate Senate resistance."

"They take the position that all peace settlements, both in Europe and Asia, must be completed and worked out to their satisfaction before they will consider approving American membership of any organization to preserve that peace."

The isolationists are hardly in a position to complain now that Russia is doing something very similar.

Stalin's precautions

IN an imperialist world, Stalin is taking just those strategic precautions for the future that any imperialist ruler would. From the Baltic to the Mediterranean Russian influence is increasing.

In the Balkans, where the map will once again be re-drawn, there is hope that old frontier quarrels will be forgotten in a new federation.

"The area of decision for the eastern Mediterranean had been snatched from the British lion." (Time, Oct. 9.)

Britain acquiescent?

IT certainly seems from a leader in The Times (Oct. 13) that Britain is prepared to accept the new situation as inevitable. Russia, said The

New Treasurers and old appeal

IN this, the first of our fortnightly appeals since our appointment as Joint Treasurers on the death of our beloved Maurice Rowntree, we would ask for the continued support of all old subscribers.

We hope that some of you may feel able to increase your present contributions by way of encouragement to us as we take up our new task; and even that some new names, of those who have not given before, may be added to the list. Any amounts, however small, will be gratefully received and acknowledged. It is in the prompt and regular giving of the many, along with the substantial amounts from the few who are able to afford more, that treasurers find encouragement and inspiration.

We ask for your help in this way, both in memory of Maurice and as a token of renewed dedication to the cause which he served so well and faithfully.

MAUD ROWNTREE
CORDER CATCHPOOL

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GERMAN MOTHER AND BRITISH AIRMAN

Because "some very narrow-minded people in Blackpool" had written to the West Lancs. Evening Gazette about the German wounded in a local hospital, a correspondent signing himself "Sergt.-Pilot" gave this description, in a letter published on Oct. 4, of his own experience in a German hospital in France:

MY plane was shot down after a bombing raid on France, and I had to bale out. I was injured in the chest, shoulder and left arm, and on landing broke my leg. I was taken to an emergency hospital for German wounded. They were all anti-aircraft gunners, and you can imagine how uncomfortable I felt lying among wounded soldiers whom our boys had shot up. However, nobody complained. Indeed, many offered me cigarettes and spoke in German to me.

Next to me there was a young blonde German who was swathed in bandages from head to foot. He offered me a cigarette and spoke to me in English. His mother could speak English quite well, he said. She was coming at the end of the week, he said, adding: "So you can meet her."

She did come and I met her, but he died half an hour before she arrived. When she came she brought a parcel for him—a parcel which she gave to me. She brought me three more parcels of cigarettes and fruit before I was able to be moved to a prisoner of war camp hospital, and when I was going I thanked her for her kindness to me. She told me about her other son, a prisoner of war in England. "And perhaps," she said, "some kind English mother will be doing the same for him."

My mother would repay her kindness, I know, but she died before I returned.

REVOLUTION THE NEXT PHASE?

THIS forecast of the shape of things to come inside Germany was made by John Scott, who for a year has been Stockholm correspondent of the American weeklies, Time and Life, in an article in Life on Aug. 21:

When all fighting finally ends, Germany will be an atomized, chaotic, exhausted, sullen, starving, typhus-ridden void in which the occupation forces will struggle to maintain order. Germany, in my opinion, will follow the same pattern as many other similarly situated countries—war, defeat, revolution.

The German revolution will be a combined convulsion against the Nazis and against the Allied occupiers, who will be blamed by the Germans for their ills. Concurrently the German revolution will express itself in workers seizing factories and other enterprises as they did in northern Italy when Mussolini cracked up.

From then on the fate of the German revolution, and in a sense the fate of central Europe, which is dependent on it, will be in the hands of the Anglo-Russian-American coalition and whatever inner forces the German people throw up at this historic moment. Of only one thing I am sure—revolution is coming.

CRY FROM ALL LANDS

"FOR five years we have been enduring destruction, desolation, death, and terrible tragedy, and the cry not only from Great Britain but, I believe, from every country, including our enemies, is that war shall be no more and that lust, oppression, and crime shall vanish for ever."

So said the Rev. Alan Redpath, of Richmond, Surrey, at a big meeting in the City Hall, Newcastle, on Oct. 3.

The Lord Mayor and the Sheriff had given him a civic welcome on his arrival in Newcastle, where he is taking part in a "Faith for the Times" Campaign, which ends on Sunday.

Times, might "quite legitimately" try to ensure the security of her own frontier "by bringing Rumania and Bulgaria, and perhaps Hungary and Yugoslavia, within the Soviet security system." Perhaps the American fears already mentioned arise from the view that this would not only give Russia control of springboards in her immediate neighbourhood, but would provide her with springboards of her own in the heart of Europe.

Although The Times is not prepared to concede everything to Russia ("Greece, whose interests are mainly maritime, will tend just as naturally to move in the British orbit") its acquiescence in the increase of Russian influence compares strangely with the traditional British reaction whenever Germany, in the past, has shown undue interest in the same part of Europe. In 1938, when Britain agreed to lend Turkey up to £6,000,000 to purchase "materials required for defence purposes" from Britain, MPs on the Government side suggested that

"the Government should assist other countries in Eastern Europe and the Balkans which might be threatened with economic penetration and domination by Germany." (The Times, Jul. 5, 1938.)

If Mr. Churchill has to let M. Stalin do what Britain would not allow Germany to do (under Hitler or the Kaiser) it will reveal a significant change in the relative power-positions of Russia and the British Empire. For many years the Balkans have been important to Britain because, under the control of an unfriendly great Power, they threaten the British Empire's life-line through the Mediterranean and Suez.

After the oil

IT is also of some interest that Russia has asked Persia for oil concessions—reversing the policy affirmed in the 1921 Treaty between the two countries, the preamble to which referred to Russia's "declared opposition to the colonial policy of capitalism."

"The reversal of policy has important implications. Ideological objections to the colonial policy of capitalism are no longer regarded as fully valid in Moscow; and they are somewhat contemptuously classed among 'the infantile diseases of Leftism'." (The Observer, Oct. 15.)

The oil interests will be alarmed at the reason for Russia's move: "it indicates her intention to appear as an exporter of oil on the world markets"—to pay for goods she will need to import. Persia's refusal to grant the concession may be read alongside the Daily Express report (Oct. 17):

"A Soviet mission and representatives of oil companies from two other Powers have been negotiating in Persia for some months."

Trade war again?

THE Times (in a leader) and the Manchester Guardian (in an article by Prof. David Mitrany) have shown their awareness that no security plans will work if the world's economic mechanism is out of joint.

"No machinery of security will withstand the strain of mass unemployment, falling standards of living, and social and economic chaos." (The Times, Oct. 12.)

Prof. Mitrany, however, took the matter further:

" . . . The new trends towards national planning and the fine new goals of social security and full employment may only too easily make competition in future more popular and more passionate than when it was merely a matter of 'capitalistic' profits."

With Tory spokesmen, from Mr. Eden downwards, telling us that the scheme for social insurance depends on recapturing and increasing our export trade, the warning is timely.

Return of Congressmen

MR. Gandhi has had long talks with the leader of the Congress group
(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

It's only a beginning . . .

THIS advice to COs appears in a letter written by a Labour MP: This country might have had a different story since 1938 if the COs of 1914-18 had not forgotten what they went to prison for, if they had become less selfish and individualistic and carried the work for the realization of their prison vision into the common life of the people after their release.

I have told many groups of COs in this war that they are merely at the start of their testimony and that after the war the solemn obligation rests on them to continue their testimony by working for a more co-operative Britain and a more co-operative world.

(C.O. Fellowship week — see page 3)

PEACE NEWS

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All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

RE-EDUCATION

AT the end of the first world war Gilbert Murray was driven to the thought that "the Liberal nations happened to have won the war. But clearly it was mainly their force and wealth, not their justice or liberality that had saved them."

To some such profound self-criticism the British people need to be brought in the coming years. Whether war is the best instrument to defend and extend the principles of a free society is one question. What it means truly to believe in those principles is another, and one which, for herself, Great Britain will answer by her part in post-war settlement, and most clearly of all by her treatment of any part of Germany for which she becomes responsible.

Can pacifists help to bring their fellow citizens to see, in the confusion of their talk about "re-education," that if the experience of democracy and a (relatively) liberal society means anything, their occupation of Germany and re-education of its people must show themselves essentially different from its occupation and re-education by an authoritarian Power.

What would be the minimum tests of democratic occupation and re-education?

It need not be argued that a democratic victor will necessarily be concerned immediately to set up a democratic government. Even if elective government is necessary to a democracy, institutional form is not in itself sufficient; something which can be called the "spirit of democracy" is necessary beyond all formal requirements. Therefore, one can be a democrat and yet believe that democratic institutions are only workable after a certain stage of social consciousness has been reached. Thus the fact that a democracy imposes non-democratic forms upon what it holds to be a backward people does not in itself deny its democracy.

But it is of the essence of democratic faith that a genuinely democratic society will welcome the growth of the capacities and social talents which permit self-government, and that if a country is not ready—and more than ready, eager—to see the signs of that growth, then it is essentially not democratic in belief.

This is perhaps a spiritual rather than a constitutional criterion, but it is, even so, far from meaningless. For it is of the practical essence of a democratic society that it has a certain human skill: that it has acquired as a whole a degree of confidence in its judgments of human and group character: that it can make concessions in theory on the strength of its confidence that in fact they will not be abused by the great majority of the people who make up that society at that time. It was that faculty in the crucial days of British democratic growth which permitted the continuance of the methods of unwritten constitution and unlimited flexibility of legislative action. And the vigour and effectiveness of democratic society rest upon its retaining that faith in its capacity to make comprehensive social judgments and act upon them.

So there is a real test of the quality of a democratic society in a task of occupation and re-education. Can it under those conditions demonstrate democratic social skill? That means: can it learn to understand the people it is trying to rule, and trust its understanding, and make the concessions which are the mark of its understanding? Or must it organize government to provide against all contingencies, because it dare not trust itself to judge which are likely and which humanly impossible and contradictory of the ethos of the people under its power?

If it cannot attain that self-confidence it has failed. It may remain within its own boundaries a formal democracy: it may govern abroad with the impartial unimaginativeness that is sometimes called justice. But it cannot educate in democracy: it will remain creatively sterile. And that is its test.

Socialism today leads to

The managerial society

says James R. Burnham

THE professed pacifist has a great deal of practice in detecting the tricks of national bias and the ethics of expediency in the incessant flow of war-propaganda. But apart from the issues of the war, the pacifist's practice in avoiding mass-suggestion should help him form a realistic political and social philosophy.

He will be exceptional. The bulk of the population, on the one hand, follows the national daily Press which is becoming the mouthpiece of the Government; on the other hand, a politically conscious minority gravitates towards the "pink Left." This minority is growing; in the event of a social catastrophe it might become dominant. It expresses discontent with pre-war conditions combined with a childish faith in a simple cure: some form of socialism.

In reality, socialism is not absolute, it is relative. A State can pass gradually along many steps from laissez faire capitalism to complete national socialism, or it may traverse several steps suddenly, with a bump!

INTERNATIONAL socialism, unfortunately, is only a possibility of the dim future. Moreover, the sort of socialism which is possible at the present stage of industrial civilization is very different from that imagined by the parlour bolshevik.

For one thing, it is incompatible with democracy and inimical to liberty; for another it is consistent with (and remarkably successful at) imperialism. The modern socialist State is so different from the conception of socialism held by 19th-century radicals that James Burnham has proposed a new name for it. On the grounds that it is run by men who formerly were administrators in business and Government, he calls it the "Managerial State." It is probably the State of the future.

For a pattern one can look either to Russia or to Germany. Their constitutions have always been more similar than orthodox politicians would allow, and the similarity increases as the years go by. The rivalry between them is merely a national one, fostered by ideological cant, while the rash and criminal German attack on Russia was due to greed or the urgent need of oil and wheat.

THE modern socialist State has eliminated many of the evils of capitalism, such as incurable unemployment, unstable prosperity with booms and slumps, and the concentration on luxury-goods production to fill wants artificially stimulated by advertisements. But this progress is achieved at the expense of individual liberty which succumbs to permanent conscription for war or peace and the loss of political liberty in the one-party system.

One cannot have liberty and security. On the whole, the masses prefer security, which is why this type of State is popular with them and not with the intelligentsia.

Although Russia and Germany have advanced farthest along these lines, there is no doubt that Britain (with the National Government) and America (with New Deal and wartime controls) have taken the first steps. As the new managerial States are most "efficient" in war and peace, it is necessary to evolve in that direction or give up all claim to world power.

THE final result of this process of political evolution will probably be a small number of super-national States centred round the areas of heavy industry. These will be com-

pete for world dominance and raw materials as did the European nations in the past.

Burnham's book* should be read by every pacifist interested in the political horizon. It presents a rather alarmingly probable hypothesis, without wishful thinking or too much pessimism. Even his obvious mistake (under-estimating Russia) does not destroy the plausibility of the theory. There are signs in recent newspaper articles that intelligent non-pacifists are considering the implications of this book. One asks oneself, how does this possibility affect the future of pacifism?

*The Managerial Revolution. Putnam and Co.

"I always distrust people's views on the psychology of their national enemies. I remember how it was Lord Nelson who said, 'I cannot breathe freely, while a single Frenchman remains alive.'—Professor Gilbert Murray, in discussion with Lord Vansittart on the treatment of Germany, in the BBC's 'Brains Trust,' Oct. 3.

Words of Peace — 95

How much hushing-up in the cities, how much dissipation of the worst sort, what hypocrisy is living on, supported by gain-greedy literature and pitiable theatre and flattered by the irritating Press, which surely is much to blame for this war, and even more to blame for duplicity, and lying and falsification, making this monstrous event a disease where it might have been allowed to be a pure frenzy. But news reported over-hastily, falsely, in a spirit of hate and without the least responsibility—surely the wicked lie has in the past year often been the cause of actual happenings—lies by the hundred have put facts by the thousand into the world, and now the grandeur, the sacrifice, the resolution that is continually happening, is inextricably mixed with the welter of misery and untruth, swallowed up by the "business" of this war, which is to bring gain—fame? oh no, all these conceptions have grown meaningless by newspaper use—the world has fallen into the hands of men.

—Rainer Maria Rilke, 1915.

LETTERS

Does "mass man" exist?

Alan Staniland seems to doubt the existence of Wilfred Wellock's mass man. No doubt Staniland would admit the existence of the mass man in the totalitarian countries. But as to this country, let him take a net to the long city cinema queues—I warrant he'll catch a few mass men and women there. And if he goes inside the cinema and watches the drugged, receptive attitude of the audience, especially during news-reel and propaganda films he will find it hard to continue sceptical. Or let him peer in at the occupants of houses in indistinguishable rows on a Sunday morning as they absorb their weekly dose of newspaper poison.

Nor is the mass-man found in working-class surroundings alone. Watch the rigid mass the audience becomes at the beginning of a concert when "God Save the King" is played.

You may say that all of the people I describe are really individuals, and that to describe them as mass men or women is both ridiculous and intolerably superior in attitude. True, everyone has some God-given individuality in them which proper conditions can draw out. I only deplore the way in which people are increasingly subjected to powerful institutions and circumstances which weld them into mindless masses.

DONALD H. WHITMORE

155 Henrietta St.,
Ashton-under-Lyne.

If Alan Staniland thinks that Wellock's description of modern industrial man (who rushes about in motor-cars, thinks of nothing but dog-tracks and cinemas, who is a "cheap imitator of bourgeois materialism," and so on) "has little human truth," then one can only conclude that it is Staniland who is living in a cloud-cuckoo-land, and not Wellock!

I have always thought that Wellock's arguments were based on realities. Anyone who has close knowledge of modern mass industry, and of the pleasures and appetites of the average man and woman engaged in the work-shops and manufactories must agree with Wellock that we are fast slipping into a robot, totalitarian-organized society.

Of course there are many men and women who, standing at filthy machines all day, and coming out dog-tired, nevertheless maintain a human spirit of idealism, culture, and thought for their fellow-men. But they are in the minority.

The vast majority of our fellow-men are caught up within the wheels and oppressive routine of an industrial slave-State; and everything—wages, hours of work, methods of taking holidays, housing developments(?), welfare (so-called), pleasures, literature, education—are all directed, consciously or unconsciously, to one end—the maintenance of industrial "efficiency," which finds its ultimate formula not in happy, flowering, and fulfilled human personalities, but in the cost accountant's "Cost of Production" statements produced weekly for the gratification of "Management."

"ACCOUNTANT"

Harpenden, Hertis.

It seems clear that some of your readers have not grasped the important truth that supports Wilfred Wellock's contention, namely that the necessary work of the world (with some exceptions) could be a pleasure and not a penalty.

The planet that we live on provides in abundance the materials that man needs for his work, such as stone, wood, metals, and textiles: stone for building, with lime and sand for mortar, and plaster, slate, clay, iron, copper, gold, silver, in all of which delightful work could be done and has been done in the past. The machine can take away this pleasure, producing inferior goods in excessive quantities, which must then be foisted on to unwilling people by force of arms. Then follow the miseries of unemployment and consequent mischief of various kinds, such as gambling, alcoholism and blood-sports.

When shall we learn that there is more pleasure to be had in building a house than in bombing a city, more joy in making a good pot or drinking-glass than in travelling at 400 miles an hour from the place where one is of no use to the place where one is not wanted—and back again?

JOSEPH SOUTHALL

13 Charlotte Rd., Edgbaston, Birmingham.

Peace and democracy

John Nibb's conclusion that "it is obviously futile to identify peace with democracy" because "the more democratic governments of London and Paris have in the last hundred years or so waged four or five times as many wars as the less democratic ones of Berlin" begs the important questions.

The arithmetic could be justified only by including every colonial expedition as a "war."

Does the Boxer Rising count equally with a World War in anything but the most superficial analysis?

From a different statistical computation one could show that the number of countries invaded over the same period shows a contrasting result, but we will leave Lord Vansittart to do it.

Pacifists ought not to depend on such fourth-form debating points: more especially since their prominence robs us in the eyes of intelligent people of any understanding of the real problems of the day—including the German problem.

JOHN ELIOT

Shaw on strikes

Shaw says that the General Strike—as a means of preventing war—always has and always will break down. Your anonymous commentator leaves it at that, but Mr. Shaw does not. He says that a General Strike breaks down because the strikers might starve before their opponents yielded. But he follows this immediately with—"The way to make a strike successful is to confine it to one trade whilst all the others work full time, and overtime if necessary, to support it." In this context it is fair to suppose that Bernard Shaw was playing with the idea that "the social organization of conscientious objection" might lead to a strike in the trades producing war materials—weapons, ammunition, purely military equipment, etc.—accompanied by a continuation of the vital services to the community. Those operating these vital services would, by sharing, sustain the strikers. That seems to me a legitimate extension of Shaw's argument.

ROY WALKER

86 Guibal Rd., Lee, S.E.12.

Conscience of mankind

This may explain the impatience and intolerance manifested by the unsympathetic and unthinking majority of people towards the pacifist's attitude: the pacifist, by his open and avowed expressions of abhorrence of warfare, and his arguments regarding the futility of its aims, is, in effect, expressing the innermost thoughts of man. In short, the pacifist is the conscience of man in expression. The latter, resenting the truth, reacts accordingly.

Is it naive to suggest that the State, in admitting the claims of the conscientious objector, is acknowledging its error in resorting to armed conflict?

S. GORDON HOGG

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THIS IS — C.O. FELLOWSHIP WEEK

THE seven days Oct. 21 to 28 are to be "CO Fellowship Week." Is there, in fact, any real bond of fellowship among COs?

It would be difficult to find a more diverse group. Their reasons for refusing military service vary from Biblical literalism to social revolutionism, and their conception of what is conscientiously acceptable stretches from service in the RAMC to refusal of fire-watching. How can there be any fundamental association with such diversity?

Let us recognize its limitations. At the end of the last war, the No-Conscription Fellowship, which had united all COs, had to face the decision whether it should continue or disband. The emotional unity of the N.C.F. was great; nevertheless, it disbanded. It did so because the conviction was quietly reached that COs, with their differing views, could best serve the cause of peace by spending themselves through organizations already functioning.

Yet, who doubts that the NCF contributed greatly to the cause of peace and liberty? Among those who belonged to it who doubts that its fellowship was a real and valuable thing?

Fellowship among COs today is also desirable and valuable.

It is desirable because, however much they may differ, the principle which unites them—the right of the individual to decide what service shall be given or withheld for the purpose of war—is important. It goes to the very root of social relationships. It claims that a sense of right or wrong should finally decide conduct. It asks that society should be based on a respect for personality. Here is the very core of liberty.

It is desirable because by fellowship, the sharing of their thoughts and ideas, COs can work out for themselves the personal and social implications of the stand they have taken. If they approach their discussions from their own principle of respect for personality, they will go far towards reaching Truth.

But let us descend from the heights and admit that there are other reasons for fellowship—the breaking of loneliness, good company, the exchanging of experiences, fun, laughter. Perhaps these will be most in evidence at the fellowship meetings this coming week—and good luck to them!

At the moment of writing news of eighty meetings has come to hand. You will want to be there. If you do not know of your local meetings, write to Nancy Browne, Secretary of the Central Board for COs, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

FENNER BROCKWAY.
Chairman, C.B.C.O.

Capt. Douglas-Home's letter reprinted

The letter from Capt. William Douglas-Home, telling why he refused to attack at Le Havre, is being reproduced in leaflet form by the United Peace Campaign, c/o Dick Sheppard Centre, 48 Dundas St., Glasgow, C.1. Orders should be placed now. Price: 1s. 6d. per 100; 10s. per 1,000. (Lengthy extracts from the letter appeared in PN, Oct. 6.)

"They ask when the food will arrive"

Shortage in many lands

"When our landing craft pulled into a small Greek fishing port, a 14-year-old boy with the physique of a child of seven clambered on to the deck. In a plaintive, croaking voice he pleaded for bread. It was the only English word he knew."

EVERYWHERE in Greece it is the same. This report (News-Chronicle, Oct. 9) says that the welcome the United Nations forces are receiving "is tinged with dull apathy, an apathy bred of hunger and undernourishment. . . . Their gratitude at deliverance from the Germans is pitiful; and they ask when the food will arrive."

The urgency of the question is underlined by Theodore Caralli's description of the famine conditions. This International Red Cross delegate says (Times, Oct. 9) that "there has been little change in the conditions of famine which during the first 16 months of occupation caused the death of 1,000,000 Greeks."

The position would be still worse but for the valiant efforts of the Red Cross Societies but they do no more "than touch the surface in ministering to the immediate needs of the children."

RELIEF "INSUFFICIENT"

Despite the serious failure of civilian relief under military control in Italy, Allied HQ. Italy, sounds a mechanical note of optimism. "Greece is not going to be allowed to continue starving. . . . Now there are enough supplies in hand to fill the needs of the country as it is liberated. Ships and planes will go to relieve the population the moment ports and airfields which fall into British hands can be made ready to receive them." (Mail, Oct. 9.)

A very different note is sounded in The Observer (Oct. 8): "Negotiations about the quantities of food for Greece are still taking place in Washington. The Greeks consider that

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

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P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

PEACE CAMPAIGNERS JOIN EX-SERVICE SPEAKERS IN DEMONSTRATION

From a correspondent

TWO Scottish Sunday papers at least carried a photograph of a horse-drawn lorry, on which was a Baby Austin car, being hauled through Glasgow's streets on Oct. 7. The lorry and car carried posters.

From the Press descriptions, it seemed that this was a picturesque form of protest by Mr. John Gordon, a motor hirer of Glasgow, who, since his return wounded from Dunkirk, has been unable to get official permission, and petrol, to re-start his business.

But neither the Sunday Express nor the Mail reported that passers-by did more than stop and look at the lorry—they stayed to hear speeches from the lorry by Mr. Somerville (general secretary of the Scottish Ex-Service Men), Alex Smith (United Peace Campaign), and a representative of the Limbless Ex-Service Men.

The UPC first gave publicity to Mr. Gordon's treatment at an open-air meeting on Oct. 1, and agreed to help his lorry demonstration by supplying a speaker and allowing him to use the UPC open-air site.

On the Saturday afternoon concerned the lorry reached the site after a tour of the city.

Bill Haldane (UPC) opened the meeting and explained the reason for the demonstration. Mr. Somerville, who had arrived by chance, accepted the invitation to express the general grievances of ex-Service men.

PACIFIST'S ATTITUDE

Alex Smith pointed out that although he was opposed to war he admired the courage of the men on both sides who genuinely believed that they fought for better conditions and he congratulated Mr. Gordon and his friends on continuing the fight by exposing the promises of the Government.

Capt. Douglas-Home's letter from France, which he read to the large audience, was well received.

The United Peace Campaign's case against unconditional surrender and for a just peace now was also well received by the large audience—which was, perhaps, why neither the Sunday Express or Mail mentioned that a meeting had taken place.

the foodstuffs so far allocated by the combined board will be insufficient." (Our emphasis.)

FREE EUROPE IS HUNGRY

It is not only in Italy and Greece that relief is far from adequate. A message from Brussels (Observer, Oct. 8) says that the food shortage "is still acute" in Belgium and what detailed news comes out of France is extremely alarming.

Professor Pasteur Vallery-Radot, "the leading French dietitian" is quoted by British United Press (Mail, Oct. 9) as saying in Paris recently that in some French areas "More than half the young people have tuberculosis and more than half the children under two have rickets." The Observer (Oct. 8) reports that "There are . . . masses of people (in Paris especially, but to some extent in all the larger cities) who have just been able to keep themselves alive" during the years of occupation.

A cautious message from Helsinki (Telegraph, Oct. 9) says that in Finland "Food . . . is scarce and lacking in nutritive value"—a warning which may be the prelude to catastrophe, since Finland was kept in the war mainly by her reliance on food supplies from Germany, which have now ceased entirely.

OCCUPIED EUROPE TOO

Holland, the battlefield in the West, may now have famine added to the other scourges of war: " . . . in the immediate future the available food supplies will be exhausted" (Manchester Guardian, Oct. 7). In Amsterdam, the Netherlands Information Bureau has stated (Times, Oct. 12), there is bread for only one week, and the Germans are requisitioning food stocks on a large scale.

Like the United Nations in Italy and France, the Germans are now using transport mainly for military purposes. Only air-borne relief to Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Utrecht can save the situation if the battle is prolonged.

The Channel Islands are also suffering seriously. There is "consumption and rickets due to malnutrition" among the children. "There are 40,000 civilians in Jersey and they have enough food to last them until the middle of next month. The 30,000 civilians in Guernsey are even worse off for food." (Times, Oct. 7.) Correspondence in The Times recently has urged immediate food relief for the islands.

Norway is also in desperate straits and there will be no help from Germany where there has been "Drastic revision of food policy on the home front." (Observer, Oct. 8.)

C.O.s' ADVISORY BUREAUX

Worcester: now Richard Haddock at same address.
Hertford: W. J. Rowe now 13 West Street, Hertford.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday, 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements. When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

SECOND-FLOOR flat offered free to middle-aged man and wife in return for domestic help (fixed hours). Two rooms and small kitchen simply furnished; space for other furniture. Use of bathroom below. Pleasant garden surroundings. Mrs. Hobhouse, Failand, St. Catharine's, Broxbourne, Herts.

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BINOCULARS, MICROSCOPES, projectors, etc., bought, sold, exchanged. Mention Peace News. Appleton, 215 Anglesey Road, Burton-on-Trent.

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C.O. LAND-WORKER. desires purchase Teddy-bear or wheeled toy suitable baby son 18 months. Good condition. Reasonable price. Box 667.

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FRANCISCAN COMMUNITY (not Anglican) wants members for land-work, book business, etc. Married or unmarried. Postulants for priesthood and evangelistic work welcomed. 10 minutes from sea. Kingdom Books, 51 West Cromwell Road, London, S.W.5.

C.O. 9 YRS. farming experience is £150 short to stock 300-acre rough stock rearing farm. Willing to pay up to 7½% interest. J. Plowright, Burnslack, Chipping, nr. Preston.

LITERATURE, etc.

"LEARN TO SPEAK" by Florence Surfleet, 1s. 6d. (1s. 8d. post free), for use with groups or individually. Headley Brothers, 109 Kingsway, W.C.2.

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"WORLD EVENTS and the Coming of Christ"; and "Britain in Prophecy." Free booklets from D. Morrison, 100 Montreal Ave., Bristol, 7.

WHERE are we in Prophecy today? Write for latest booklet published by the Kingdom Movement, 6d. including other literature. Address, Hon. Secretary, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden, Surrey.

MEHER BABA'S explanations: Non-violence (spiritual-material)—war—modern problems. Questions invited gratis. Backett, Halstead, Kent.

MEETINGS, etc.

BOURNEMOUTH POST-WAR Reconstruction Group, 5 Wellington Rd., Oct. 27, 7.30 p.m. Gerald Bailey: "Conditions of Peace." (Chairman: Mayor of Bournemouth.)

THURSDAY, OCT. 26. Joe Brayshaw, Public Relations Officer, C.B.C.O.: "C.O. and the Future." Chairman: E. C. Redhead. 7.30 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Bush Road, Leytonstone.

LONDON REGIONAL Board for C.O.s. Meeting, Oct. 28, 2.30 p.m., Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1. "The C.O. After the War." Speakers: A. Joe Brayshaw, E. C. Redhead (chairman), Rev. Reginald Sorenson, M.P. Followed by social evening. Dr. E. W. Briault and Vivienne Deane, vocalists. Dick Williams, character impressions. Community songs. M.C.: Raymond Ward.

MIDLAND REGIONAL Board for C.O.s: Fellowship gathering, Friends' Meeting House, Bull St., Birmingham, 3 p.m., Oct. 21. Fenner Brockway: "C.O.s and future of conscription." Please make known to all C.O.s.

FRANK DAWTRY will speak on Edward Carpenter at a P.P.U. meeting to be held at 4 p.m. on Sat., Oct. 28, at Friends' Meeting House, 25 London Rd., High Wycombe. All are heartily invited.

C.O. WEEK: Joe Brayshaw will speak at the above address at 7.45 p.m. on Sun., Oct. 22.

MUSWELL HILL Friends' Meeting House, Church Crescent, near Cranley Gdns, Station. Wed., Oct. 25, 7.30 p.m., Bernard Hadley, "The C.O. and the Future."

LEEDS: Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane (behind Broadcasting House), Sat., Oct. 28, C.O.s' re-union. 2.45, A.G.M. of N.E. Regional Board; speaker, Fenner Brockway. 5.30, pooled tea. 7 p.m., rally; speaker, Fenner Brockway. All heartily invited.

BRISTOL: Tues., Oct. 24, 7 p.m., Kingsley Hall, Old Market: Folk House Players in three one-act plays. Sat., Oct. 28, 3 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Broadweir: "War Resistance—Past, Present and Future." (Tea provided.)

TAUNTON: C.O. Fellowship Week. All C.O.s cordially welcomed on Oct. 28 at Friends' Meeting House. Tea at 4 p.m. Speaker: Will Parkin (Bristol).

RICHMOND and District C.O. Fellowship and A.B. Arts and Crafts Exhibition advertised here last week is by local C.O.s (not "C.O."). Other details as last week.

C.O. FELLOWSHIP Week. All welcome at Friends' Meeting House, Southampton, Sat., Oct. 28, at 4 p.m.

PERSONAL

With reference to the advertisement starting "Young Author" and over the name of Athelstan Ridgway, in our advertisement columns of Sept. 22, we wish to make it clear that our advertiser was not Mr. Athelstan Ridgway, L.I. B., Barrister-at-Law, and Librarian of the Dominions and Colonial Office, Whitehall. We greatly regret any personal inconvenience or annoyance which the advertisement may have caused him.

MARJORIE and Geoffrey Lane wish to announce the birth of their daughter, Diana Ruth, at Colchester, on Oct. 3. Both well.

PACIFIST BUSINESS lady, lonely through war, seeks useful companionship of someone similarly placed. Remuneration or share expenses. Box 659.

ALFRED and Marjorie Last wish to thank most sincerely the gang and all friends who contributed towards such a magnificent wedding gift.

JOHN VICTORY Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends.

SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

MARRIED COUPLE wanted—handyman-gardener and household duties; live in; good wages; permanent job; excellent situation. "Vegetarian Home," Penarth.

EARLY NOVEMBER, Bristol. Co-operative young woman to help house and with baby one year, older child after school. Vegetarian. Resident with parents working drama in schools. Must be capable of responsibility. Box 665.

GENERAL FARM and estate-worshiper wanted. Opportunity for cultural activity. Live in. Haughton, Williamston, Insh, Aberdeenshire.

COOK-HOUSEKEEPER. Warden, small hostel for relief workers, Chelsea, middle of November. Apply Miss Pittman-Davis, 20 Gordon Square, W.C.1.

WANTED: two friends, or woman with child school age, not afraid of hard work or country life, to help with domestic work in household making a serious effort to prepare for Reconstruction. Box 668.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

C.O. (25) SEEKS work connected with agriculture or hospital. Fair knowledge cooking; welcome opportunity to improve same. Experienced in grocery management; store work welcomed. North preferred, not essential. Box 660.

C.O. MECHANIC, married seeks situation. Tractor and implement maintenance, thrashing drum and a little ploughing experience. Good knowledge of carpentry and generally capable with tools. Living accommodation essential. Leigh, Belt House, Upton, Burford, Oxon.

PACIFIST, VEGETARIAN, married, 29, seeks vegetable production, congenial company, 25 miles Manchester. Four yrs. agriculture. Alan Newby, Sloss Farm, Appleby, Westmorland.

DUPLICATING. 100 copies, quarto, 4s. 6d., postage extra. Also expert typing. Winifred Jewell, 8 Lamas Park Gdns., Ealing. Phone EALING 1645.

C.O. SEEKS job as working pupil, market garden and general horticulture for Sen. R.H.S. Exam. Box 662.

SECRETARIAL OR land-work wanted by female C.O. Experienced shorthand-typing and gardening. Box 664.

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ALLYSOL—SEND stamps 5d. for two 20-page booklets of life-conserving information about garlic: (1) a herbal remedy with 5,000 years of history; (2) Rheumatism and Catarrh dissolved at their root. Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

the time of the German "revolution" in 1918 he even became a member of the Soldiers' and Workers' Council in Munich. As far as the thing was possible in Germany, he was a German "progressive." Yet immediately after the Treaty of Versailles we find him confessing that he has but one thought and one aim—the reconstitution of the German General Staff. This, from one of the chief architects of the Weimar Constitution, is a flash of illumination indeed.

For this liberal (who was perhaps the profoundest German social and political thinker of his day), when it comes to the point, the creation of an effective political democracy in Germany was entirely secondary to the reconstitution of the power-house of German militarism. Indeed, parliamentary government was (in his view) merely the means to the re-establishment of Germany as a "power-State": at best, a safeguard against the irresponsible authority of a tawdry autocrat like the late Kaiser.

I am not suggesting that Weber would necessarily have capitulated weakly to Hitlerism. His place and fate would probably have been like that of a Rauschning. But he is a striking example of a mentality which (I believe) is pretty fundamental in the best of the German people. Still less am I suggesting that we should feel superior. We must compare German militarism with British navalism before we judge.

★

But pacifists must choose. If they wish simply to be ethical idealists—well and good. If they wish to be politicians, they ought not to carry over their ethical idealism into the political realm—and call it politics. The political realm is not the realm of the desirable, but of the possible; not of the ideal, but of the real.

A political judgment, if it is not to be an invitation to renewed disaster, must be based on political facts. And one of the important facts today is that the German, who is in personal relations just as decent as the Englishman, is a quite different kind of political animal from the Englishman or the Frenchman.

To assume that the Germans could create a workable democracy if only they were left to themselves is to assume what is probably untrue. At the very least it is unconsciously to beg what is perhaps the crucial question of world-politics today.

Can France resume the role of a great Power?

FRANCE entered the war a great Power. But, by the harsh standard by which greatness of power is tested in this decade, she proved not great enough. Now, however, that she has been freed from actual physical subjugation, what are the prospects of her making once more a great Power's contribution to the shaping of the Europe of the future?

As we pointed out in our survey last week of the political and social scene inside France, much depends upon internal developments. The deep rifts within the France of the 1930's were partly the cause of the debacle of 1940, both materially and morally. But the French contribution to European civilization has never been one to be assessed in terms of mere strength. Rather has it been that "savoir vivre" which cannot fully be translated.

Post-war Europe will desperately need to "know how to live." If the liberation of France proves to be the beginning of a true renaissance, she will not only recover her own former status, but may be able to show a new kind of greatness.

It is hardly to be expected, however, that this conception of greatness will be dominant in France at present. "France as a whole," says ex-Ambassador Wm. C. Bullitt in his article in Life to which we referred last week, "will not be the soft France produced by the victory of 1918 but the hard France produced by the defeat of 1871." But history is not simply repeating itself.

The France of today is trying to forget defeat by counting herself among the about-to-be-victorious Allies. De Gaulle was quite serious when he said recently: "The Allies are fighting on at the side of France." It was a good example of that romanticism which characterizes the General—though, to judge from his broadcast "fire-side chat" of Saturday evening, he is exasperated by the major Allies' unwillingness to regard France as their equal.

The problem of how Europe is to live is, for France, above all the problem of how France is to live with her German neighbour. Even before the war there were sincere, disinterested Frenchmen who believed that France could not hope to compete

with Germany as a military power. The best hope for the future lies in ensuring that their relationship shall not need to be considered in those terms.

Despite de Gaulle's recent reference to the "traditional enemy," there is reason to hope that Frenchmen will not see the problem merely as one of keeping Germany down.

"The provisional Government," reports William Bullitt, "does not believe that peace will be promoted by cutting Germany by force into three or five or more independent States. They argue that if this should be done, racial, political and economic motives would drive the Germans to turn their best energies to another war of revenge."

CONSTRUCTIVE PLAN

Mr. Bullitt adds that the Provisional Government favours the return of Austria and the Sudetenland to their pre-Hitler status, and that it knows that "there is no use in expressing a French opinion about eastern Germany." (French political realism lives on!) But they want the remainder of Germany to be one nation, and their views on its future are constructive—and instructive:

"They do not desire to annex the Rhineland or even the Saar. They think that the internal political structure of Germany should be altered in such a way as to end Prussian domination of all the other German States. They would like to see Prussia reduced to the mark of Brandenburg which is its core. They envisage a Germany composed of States united in a federal system, no single State dominant."

"Especially they hope that it may be possible to achieve a settlement which will make the great industrial regions of western Germany look for their markets to the west rather than to the east. They propose that while the Rhineland, the Saar, Westphalia and all the Ruhr industrial complex should remain politically a part of the German State, the whole region should be attached economically to the economic systems of Belgium, the Netherlands and France, with the participation of England to such an extent as the British Government may desire. In this area they would as rapidly as possible eliminate customs barriers and make currencies interchangeable and permit free immigration."

As Mr. Bullitt says, "to separate the economic unity of a country from its political unity is a novel suggestion." But it may prove to be the only politically practicable way forward:

"... the French believe that, since a European federation is now outside the realm of practical politics due to Russian opposition, the best chance for peace in Europe lies in an economic federation of western Europe."

The proposal conforms well to the declaration of M. Bidault, French Foreign Minister, that his nation would not approach the problem of Germany "in a spirit of fear or hatred."

It remains to be seen whether, despite Mr. Churchill's insistence that France shall be restored to the ranks

of the great Powers, her views will be allowed to carry much weight in the critical present and near future.

"The Provisional Government," says Bullitt, "regrets deeply that in the inner council of the Allies there is no European State and that the fate of Europe, the mother of western civilization, is being decided by Great Britain, the Soviet Union, the US and China without the participation of a single representative of the 402,000,000 Europeans who live to the west of the Soviet Union."

There is, of course, a great danger that if France tries to "muscle in" on that level, and becomes predominantly power-minded, the best of her potential contribution to Europe will be lost. We cannot tell. We can only draw hope for the future—of both France and Europe—from the fact that there are Frenchmen who realize that their country's traditional "civilizing mission" must be pursued in a new set of circumstances. Mr. Raymond Aron put it well in *La France Libre*:

A great nation lives and prospers only by the secret and constant inspiration of an ideal. What is the ideal of France in our century? Has France still a mission? We reply: the French ideal is to safeguard the value of man at a time when everything conspires to let loose on society the inhumanity of enslaved multitudes and of mountains of steel.

But it would be only too easy to treasure this value inside a trim French garden, in the shadow of the Cathedral of Chartres or in the sunshine of St. Tropez. Withdrawn into a surly solitude, content to lead a life devoid of risk and adventure, in the shelter of a comfortable mediocrity, France would no longer count for anything.

She must play her part among the lordly ones of this mechanistic civilization, she too must produce, on the grand scale and according to the law of efficiency. Then, and only then, shall we be able to admire her refusal to give these gigantic playthings the naive admiration of the savage.

OCT. 21st-28th

Here at last!

C.O. FELLOWSHIP
WEEK

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Attend the meetings.

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COMMENTARY (continued)

in the Central Legislative Assembly, and the result (says the Evening Standard, Oct. 12) is that Congress members, who have boycotted the Assembly ever since the outbreak of war, will return for its next session. In their absence the Nationalists made an ad hoc united front with Muslim League members, and it might yet be extended to include the Congressmen, the most-numerous single group in the chamber.

Similarly, Congress might re-enter constitutional politics at the provincial level. Such a move would be welcome, for its policy of boycott (together with the imprisonment of its leaders) has given the Muslim League the opportunity to bound forward, even to form ministries in the "Congress provinces." It would be premature to assert that Hindu-Muslim unity died at Bombay. A measure of practical unity may emerge from the day-to-day work in the Assemblies, given a reanimated political life. Will Mr. Jinnah like that?

Still Britain's prisoners

WHAT is truly shocking is that so few people care that the leading Congressmen are entering on the third year of imprisonment. Mr. Amery is "not aware of any reason for relaxing the orders of detention of these persons, etc." (Commons, Oct. 5.)

But the time-worn formula is varied in one interesting detail: with one exception, says Mr. Amery, "all the members of the Working Committee detained at Ahmednagar are well." I may have nodded but I fancy that the India Office has not before told us where they are, though it is more

than two years since Time guessed right.

But—to be thankful for tiny mercies—we are heartened to know where Pandit Nehru is: it may even be a step towards getting him out.

Stranglehold on China

THE recent naval and air actions against Formosa have stolen such headlines as have been devoted to the Pacific war. But there is another side to the Far Eastern picture. Reporting "new and ominous gains" in the Japanese offensive in China, Time (Oct. 9) said:

"Although the nearest battlefield was almost 350 miles from Chungking, the atmosphere in the capital was heavy with disaster. The Jap drive was a new and terrible threat to the very heart of free China."

Allied strategy depends upon getting more supplies into China, but Time feared that the crucial high-way might be cut.

Japan's strength

THE Japanese army, says Time, is at least as strong as it was when she entered the war—perhaps stronger. Its 4,000,000 soldiers are organized in 70 combat divisions distributed, as follows:

"Eight in the home islands; ten in Burma, Thailand, Indo-China and Malaya; 20 in the Philippines, the Netherlands Indies and the Pacific Islands; 32 in China and Manchuria."

In addition, there are 2,000,000 men fit for military service who have not yet been called up, 1,500,000 aged 17 to 20 not yet subject to conscription, and a population increase which provides a new class of 200,000 to 250,000 recruits each year.

Allied progress in the Pacific Islands should be read in the light of these figures.

JAPAN'S STRENGTH IN CHINA

CHINA is in a bad way. If she were not, we should not have had an outbreak of recriminations on both sides of the Pacific.

On Oct. 4 the New York correspondent of the News Chronicle reported:

"Bitter complaints from Chungking of the inadequacy of Lend-Lease aid are not being refuted in Washington."

"The fact, as disclosed by official figures, is that, up to the end of June this year, barely one-half of 1 per cent. of American Lend-Lease exports have trickled into China."

"And there is no prospect of more than a very slight improvement in the foreseeable future."

Later, however, the tune changed. The Washington correspondent of the News Chronicle (Oct. 14) summarized "some singularly plain speaking on the causes of the current military crisis in China" appearing in the Bulletin of the US Foreign Policy Association:

"The weakness of the Central Chinese Armies can mainly be traced not to the inadequacy of American aid... but to 'such internal conditions as the mishandling of troops, political differences among the generals, widespread discontent with the methods of conscription, popular dissatisfaction with the corrupt behaviour of many military leaders and Chungking's failure to use the full machinery available for war production'."

"It (the Bulletin) goes on to quote a recent estimate that 'only one of every 20 Chinese conscripts reaches the front line'..."

The recriminations serve no good purpose. China's present distress is due to her need for greater supplies and to internal weaknesses. But the Chinese might well retort that they have every reason to be war-weary: Japanese troops have been on their soil since 1933—and USA only stopped its private business from supplying the invader shortly before Pearl Harbour.

"ARGUS"